

Esther Strong

CABLEGRAMS: { INMISSEION, NEW YORK
INMISCO, LONDON

CODES: { MISSIONS
CHINA INLAND MISSION

TELEPHONE: { NEW YORK: CALEDONIA 9137
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INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Composed of the following Organizations

NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL OF AUSTRALIA
SOCIÉTÉ BELGE DE MISSIONS PROTESTANTES AU CONGO
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF CHINA
CONSEIL PROTESTANT DU CONGO
DANSK MISSIONSRAAD
DEUTSCHER EVANGELISCHER MISSIONSBUND
SOCIÉTÉ DES MISSIONS ÉVANGÉLIQUES DE PARIS
CONFERENCE OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF INDIA, BURMA, AND
CEYLON
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF JAPAN
KOREAN NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
COMMITTEE ON COÖPERATION IN LATIN AMERICA
NEAR EAST CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
COMMISSIE VAN ADVIES (THE NETHERLANDS)
NETHERLANDS INDIA
NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL OF NEW ZEALAND
NORSK MISSIONSRAAD

FOREIGN MISSIONS CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA
(UNITED STATES AND CANADA)
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF THE PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF SIAM
MISSIONARY SOCIETIES OF SOUTH AFRICA
SUOMEN LAHETYSNEUVOSTO
SVENSKA MISSIONSRADET
ASSOCIATION OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN SWITZER-
LAND

R. E. Speer

Chairman: JOHN R. MOTT, 230 Park Avenue, New York City
Secretaries: J. H. OLDHAM; WILLIAM PATON, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W. 1
A. L. WARNSHUIS, 419 Fourth Ave., New York City

DEC 2 1930

Ans. _____

December 1, 1930

Dr. Robert E. Speer
150 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Speer:

The Group Meeting on Religious Liberty called for December 5 and 6 will open with dinner at 6:30 p.m. at the Y.W.C.A., 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City, and will continue through the evening there. The price of the dinner is \$1.25. If you plan to be present at the dinner, will you please send me your check to the International Missionary Council, 419 Fourth Avenue, not later than Wednesday, December 31

The meeting Saturday morning will be held in the conference room on the eighteenth floor, 419 Fourth Avenue.

Enclosed herewith is a paper from Mr. Paton, bringing up to date the information on Religious Liberty contained in the data studies that were circulated at the May Group Meeting. Under separate cover, I am also sending you a paper prepared by Dr. Fred F. Goodsell for the meeting on Friday. Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, who will be chairman of this meeting, requests that you bring with you to the meeting these papers together with the data papers prepared last spring.

Very sincerely yours

Esther Strong

RS/c
enc.

You asked for a copy of this
letter.

November 11, 1930

My dear Miss Finder,

I return herewith Mrs. Van Etten's letter. She is undertaking a very interesting study but either she or somebody else will have to do a great deal of hard work in accumulating all of the material. She really ought to be here and put in several weeks in the Missionary Research Library. There is a great mass of material which should be studied through in connection with each of the five countries she names.

In the case of Japan the investigation ought to go back thirty years. I have a great mass of information in my office with regard to it, but I cannot send it out and it would require weeks of careful study to go over it all and digest it. The danger is that Mrs. Van Etten will not be able to assemble the necessary material and may feel driven to write her thesis with inadequate knowledge of all the facts.

With reference to Persia the problem is easier. Some of the material is summarized on pages 86 to 90 of "Foreign Missions Done For?". There is a full statement entitled "Resume of the Educational Situation in Persia" attached to Mr. A. C. Boyce's letter of March 7, 1928, with accompanying papers. These should be supplemented by Dr. Jordan's letter of August 29, 1928, with accompanying papers. We could not send these away from the office, however, and as you can see it will be a considerable task to copy them for Mrs. Van Etten. I attach them hereto, however, together with an extract from the Board Letter of November 7, 1928, to the Persia Missions.

With reference to Turkey, the information would have to be secured from the American Board in Boston. Perhaps there have been some printed articles in which the whole case has been summarized. If so, the American Board would know of them.

As to China, I think the material prior to 1927 will be found as fully as anywhere in the Deputation Report which Dr. Kerr and I presented to the Board, pages 343 to 403. I do not know any place where the whole history from 1927 to 1930 is summarized. There have been many developments. Perhaps if Mrs. Van Etten has access to the Chinese Recorder and to the Bulletins of the National Christian Council of China, and to the Annual Reports of our Board, she would be able to find what she needs to supplement the historic statement in our Deputation Report.

In the case of Japan there are now no laws referring specifically to Mission schools, as far as I know. Mission schools would come simply under the same provisions as other private schools. The issue that is now alive in China was fought out nearly a generation ago in Japan, and one would have to dig back in old archives to get the material for an adequate presentation of the discussion and its outcome.

Very cordially yours,

RES:C.

R. E. Speer

DEC 11 1930

PROPOSAL FOR A STUDY OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Ans.

The Group on Religious Liberty called together by the officers of the International Missionary Council on December 5 and 6, 1930, appointed an Executive Committee composed of Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, chairman, Mr. E. C. Lobenstine, Dr. F. F. Goodsell, Dr. W. W. Rockwell, Dr. R. E. Speer, Dr. J. A. Morehead, to carry out the suggestions of the Group. Those present at the Group meeting were, Professor, J.P. Chamberlain, chairman, Mr. L. B. Moss, Dr. H. T. Hodgkin, Prof. E. B. Greene, Mr. C. H. Fahs, Dr. J. W. Wood, Dr. W. I. Chamberlain, Dr. G. B. Huntington, Dr. J. A. Morehead, Mr. J. Ritchie, Mr. E. T. Colton, Dr. R. E. Speer, Dr. F. F. Goodsell, Dr. W. W. Rockwell, Mr. E. C. Lobenstine, Prof. G. G. Wilson, Mr. Basil Mathews, Dr. C. B. McAfee, Dr. R. L. Howard, Dr. L. A. Weigle, Dr. F. M. Potter. The following study has been outlined by the Executive Committee as the results of the proposals of the Group:

- I. TITLE: Study of the Fundamental Basis of Religious Liberty.
- II. DATE: December 10, 1930.
- III. PROPONENT: Committee on Religious Liberty of the International Missionary Council.

IV. DEFINITION, SCOPE AND MAIN PURPOSES OF PROPOSAL: The main purpose of this study is to find the basic principles of religious liberty and the extent to which these principles are in force. It is hoped that the survey will correlate the thinking of Christian forces on this question and make clear the fundamental basis upon which the Protestant Christian forces of the world can take a united stand on the question of religious liberty.

Definition: This project will include a study of the rights of nationals under their own governments (see list A of questions attached) and a study of the rights of foreigners (see list B. attached).

Scope: This project would involve a study of the following areas:

- 1. Protestant countries where the struggle for religious liberty has resulted in certain conceptions of religious liberty:

| | |
|---------------|-------------|
| North America | France |
| England | Holland |
| Germany | Switzerland |

- 2. Countries strongly influenced by Communistic theories; Russia and the border states where the Christian forces are in imminent danger persecution by the overthrow of government; These include:

| | |
|---------|-----------|
| Finland | Lithuania |
| Latvia | Poland |
| Estonia | |

- 3. The new and succession states where the rights of religious minorities and the laws for their protection are in question:

| | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| Czecho-Slovakia | Yugo-Slavia |
| Austria | Bulgaria |
| Hungary | Rumania |

4. Countries strongly dominated by Roman Catholicism:

| | |
|--------|---------------|
| Italy | Latin America |
| Mexico | |

5. Areas dominated by non-Christian religions:

| | |
|--------|--------------------|
| Turkey | India |
| Egypt | China |
| Syria | Japan |
| Persia | Philippine Islands |

It would include research into factual material, interviews, group work and conferences. It would take into consideration:

1. The work of organizations interested in this subject, such as the League of Nations, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, etc.
2. The work of sociologists, social psychologists, educators and others interested in allied subjects.
3. The thought and work of Christians both nationals and foreigners in these countries.

It would include a study of available data but would not include a field survey of each of the countries listed above. However, it would be hoped that several representative field studies might be made.

It would include:

1. A factual study as to the rights that are now guaranteed, the means by which they are guaranteed and the results of this method of guarantee.
2. The basic causes underlying the restriction of religious liberty.
3. The present-day thought in various circles on this whole question of religious liberty. This will include the thinking of nationals who are responsible for their national policies and the thought of Christians and other religionists who are struggling with the problem.
4. The preparation through the help of group thinking in various parts of the world of a basic statement of the fundamental human rights of religious liberty, with a view to making this the basis of an effort to secure international recognition, either through an international treaty or pact, or through other means, of the principles agreed to.

V. CONSIDERATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE PROPOSAL:

1. Soviet Russia is at the present time launching a world-wide campaign of Communism which involves an atheistic intolerance that is deadly to the religious outlook on life. In the face of this propaganda, the Protestant Christian forces are undertaken as to the fundamental principles upon which they can unite and stand against all opposition.

2. The term religious liberty has entered into many national and international documents but it is not clearly enough defined to be of value in this present situation.
3. The world is in a state of upheaval at the present time in which many national policies and programs are being decided. (For example, China and Turkey, and the new and secession states where the rights of minorities are still undetermined.) Now is the time to write a real degree of religious liberty into these programs.
4. The International Missionary Council passed the following resolutions:
 - A. At the Jerusalem Meeting: "A study of the relation of the principle of religious freedom to the rights of minorities under state systems of education. We request the Committee of the International Missionary Council to take early steps to secure from a group of experts a thorough study of this subject." World Mission of Christianity, p. 30.
 - B. At the Williamstown Meeting: "In accordance with the request of the Jerusalem Meeting (World Mission of Christianity, p. 30), the Committee instructs the officers to take steps to make a study of the rights of minorities under state systems of education. It is understood that the officers will procure the assistance of one or more experts and that this study will not involve an additional charge upon the regular budget." Williamstown Minutes, p. 36.

VI. GENERAL PLAN AND METHOD TO BE ADOPTED:

- A. Direction of the Study. The project would be under the auspices of the International Missionary Council. The officers of the Council will act with the advice of the New York Committee on Religious Liberty. Responsible to the officers of the Council and the Committee will be the director of the project.
- B. Procedure.
 1. The officers of the International Missionary Council will seek the cooperation of the National Christian Councils in developing groups to study the problem. These groups will send in suggestions for the major issues to be studied and will serve as the nucleus through which the director will work in each field.
 2. A bibliographer will be started at once to list the organizations, committees, and agencies, including the government and the League of Nations, that are dealing with this problem. He would scan the publications of these organizations to see what has been done on this subject. It is estimated that this would take about one month.
 3. The director would be responsible for conducting the study. He would have the services of a research but would personally direct the research and formulate conclusions. The director would be responsible for:
 - a. A thorough review of documentary materials
 - b. Personal interviews to study the trend of present-day thinking.
 - c. Conferences in China, Japan, the Philippines, India, Turkey, Egypt, Europe, England and America.

VII. PERSONNEL REQUIRED:

Director: A man of wide experience in religious matters and an investigator by training. Preferably a man about forty.

Assistant to the Director: A man or woman to carry on the routine executive work of the office.

Secretary to the Director: Preferably a man, to travel with the director.

Researchers: Trained in documentary work to do special pieces of work when necessary.

Stenographer: For general office work.

VIII. TIME REQUIRED: The time required for this project is estimated at two years. The following is a tentative program:

March 1 - September 1, 1930.

Presentation and correspondence, study and planning for the project.
Preliminary research work.

September 1931.

Conferences in America.
1931

October 1/- June 1, 1932.

Travel and conferences.

Europe - preliminary conferences (work at the League of Nations
Near East
Orient and Far East

Return by way of the Pacific coast, holding conferences there and in Chicago.

June 1 - July 1, 1932.

Reports of trips and preparations for conferences in Europe.

July 15 - September 15, 1932.

Europe - conferences, interviews, etc.

September 15, 1932 - March, 1933.

America - final conferences, preparations of reports, follow-up work, etc.

IX. PUBLICATIONS RESULTING FROM THIS STUDY:

1. A report embodying the findings and conclusions of the survey.
2. A manual on the situation in various countries, like a Statesman's Year Book on Religious Liberty.
3. Monographs for popular consumption, like Basil Mathew's Clash of Color.
4. A series of volumes including all original source material such as treaties, laws, constitutions, church laws, etc. This making available for scientific investigation, the results of this research.

X. ESTIMATED COST:

Salaries:

| | | |
|--|--------------|--------------|
| Director for 2 years | \$10,000 | |
| Male Secretary 1 year | 2,500 | |
| Assistant to Director 2 years | 8,000 | |
| Stenographer 2 years | <u>3,500</u> | \$29,000 |
| Research assistance in various countries | | 10,000 |
| Books and documents | | 2,000 |
| Conferences, 6 (Fifty persons to a conference for five days) | | 15,000 |
| Travel for 2 (Director and secretary, N.Y., Europe, Near East, India, and Far East. Nine months and additional trip to Europe and return.) | | 10,000 |
| Office rent , equipment and supplies | | 4,000 |
| Publication and follow-up | | <u>5,000</u> |
| | | \$75,000 |

LIST "B"

A

For the Maintenance of Religious Liberty Is It Essential That Those Same Rights And Privileges Be Granted By One Nation to The Nationals of Other Countries As Are Granted to Their Own?

1. Is it essential for the maintenance of religious liberty, in a country where Christianity has a foothold, to keep the door open for foreign missionary activities?

Would it be an unmitigated evil if the nations of Asia were to limit the number of Protestant Missions or Churches it will recognize?

2. Again, is it essential that foreigners be allowed the same rights and privileges in propagating Christianity as the nationals of that country?

3. Is it essential that foreign organizations have the right to hold property in their own names?

B

The Nature of The Guarantee of Religious Liberty Affecting The Nationals of One Country Residing in Another.

1. Should it be given by each country, of its own free will, and as the natural accompaniment of its guarantee of Religious Liberty to its own nationals?

2. Or should it be by specific reference to religious liberty in treaties drawn up between any two nations?

3. Or, in the third place, can and should an effort be made to secure the adoption through the League of Nations, or by some separate instrument similar to the Kellogg Briand Pact, of a common statement guaranteeing to all alike religious liberty?

Ethel Strong

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ASSOCIATION OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN SWITZER-
LAND

Chairman: JOHN R. MOTT, 230 Park Avenue, New York City
Secretaries: J. H. OLDHAM; WILLIAM PATON, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W. 1
A. L. WARNSHUIS, 419 Fourth Ave., New York City

January 5, 1931

Gentlemen:

This is to remind you that the Committee on Religious Liberty is meeting on Tuesday, January 6 at two o'clock in the conference room at 419 Fourth Avenue.

Enclosed please find a statement of the project which is to be presented to the Institute on January 13. Please bring this to the meeting with you.

Sincerely yours

Ethel Strong

ES/c

enc.

PROPOSAL FOR A STUDY OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

I. TITLE: Study of the Fundamental Basis of Religious Liberty.

II. DATE: January 10, 1931.

III. NAME AND ADDRESS OF PROPONENT: Committee on Religious Liberty, (see Appendix I), of the International Missionary Council, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

IV. OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS AND ACTIONS AUTHORIZING THE PROPOSAL: See Appendix II for the statements of:

A. The Group on Religious Liberty.

B. The statement of the Jerusalem Meeting on the right of religious freedom for all men.

C. The statement of the Jerusalem Meeting on a study of the relation of the principle of religious freedom to the rights of minorities under state systems of education.

D. Statement of the Williamstown Meeting on a study of the rights of minorities under state systems of education.

E. Statement of the Williamstown Meeting on religious liberty in Moslem countries

F. Statement of the National Christian Council of China.

V. OBJECTIVE: This project has as its objective the formulation of the fundamental concepts of religious liberty ^{which ought to be the basis and measure of all} upon which the religious forces of the world are ^{to be based upon the in force today} justified in uniting in the face of restrictions that are emerging ^{due to various} causes such as communism, extreme nationalism, and fear of foreign cultural invasion. ^{religion and culture}

VI. DEFINITION, SCOPE AND MAIN PURPOSES OF THIS PROPOSAL:

A. Definition: This study will be [a comparison and analysis of the problems and policies of different groups who are interested in the maintenance of religious liberty in] an effort to derive a true conception of religious liberty ^{with the light of history, fact and theory} [as applied to] the world situation today.

VIII. GENERAL PLAN AND METHOD TO BE ADOPTED:

A. The direction of the project will be under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Religious Research. The staff for the project will be responsible to the Institute but will work in consultation with the officers of the International Missionary Council and the Committee on Religious Liberty.

B. Procedure. The project will be divided into four major studies as follows:

1. Preliminary survey of library data.

a. Procedure:

- (1) Preparation of a bibliography of available literature, telling where available.
- (2) List of literature desirable to be secured for this study.
- (3) Annotated list of organizations at work on the problem of religious liberty.

b. Personnel: Bibliographer with typist or cataloguer.

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| c. <u>Budget:</u> | Bibliographer | \$ 700 |
| | Cataloguer for 2 months | 350 |
| | Copying and incidentals | <u>200</u> |
| | Total | \$1250 |

2. Analysis of the present-day situation in regard to religious liberty.

The preliminary results of this study will be available for the use of the direction in his field work. (see study 3)

a. A summarized statement of the national laws at the present time (including administrative practices and ecclesiastical laws and policy in the countries and regions approximately as follows:

- (1) Countries where the struggle for religious liberty has resulted in certain conceptions of religious liberty:

| | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------|
| North America | France | Scandinavia |
| England | The Netherlands | |
| Germany | Switzerland | |

(2) Countries strongly influenced by communistic theories: Russia and the border states where the Christian forces are in imminent danger of persecution by the overthrow of government. These include:

| | | |
|---------|-----------|--------|
| Finland | Estonia | Poland |
| Latvia | Lithuania | |

(3) The new and secession states where the rights of religious minorities and the laws for their protection are in question:

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------|----------|
| Czecho-Slovakia | Hungary | Bulgaria |
| Austria | Yugo-Slavia | Rumania |

(4) Countries strongly dominated by Roman Catholicism:

| | | |
|-------|----------|-----------|
| Italy | Mexico | Peru |
| Spain | Portugal | Argentina |

(5) Areas dominated by non-Christian religions:

| | | |
|--------|--------|--------------------|
| Turkey | Persia | Japan |
| Egypt | India | Philippine Islands |
| Syria | China | |

This will involve the appointment of an expert in each country (or in a group of countries like the Central European states) to work up statements under the supervision of the director. This will be carried on by correspondence concurrent with other work.

b. Analysis of the present concepts, laws, and practices of the Roman Catholic Church.

| | | |
|-------------------|--|--------------|
| c. <u>Budget:</u> | An average expenditure of | |
| | \$300 apiece for 35 countries | \$10,500 |
| | A study of ecclesiastical law | 1,500 |
| | Honoraria to church historians (Item B) | 1,500 |
| | Contingency | <u>1,500</u> |
| | Total | \$15,000 |

3. A study of expert opinion as to what are the results of the present system. It is expected that this will result in information pertaining to

the practices necessary to secure religious liberty. (see suggestions in Appendix III - Lobenstine's points.)

a. These results will be secured by visitation of the director to various countries listed below, the holding there of conferences, and interviews among/with heads of religious groups (Christian and others) government officials and other leaders of public opinion. Groups are already at work in the United States, Great Britain, Geneva, Egypt, Turkey, India, China, Japan, and the Philippines, and will be available to the director for cooperation, collaboration and coordination of results. It is expected by this means to get a consensus on the essentials of the practices necessary to protect religious liberty.

| | |
|-------------|---------------------|
| Turkey | - 3 weeks |
| Egypt | - 2 " |
| Persia | - 3 " |
| Syria | - 2 " |
| Iraq | - 1 " |
| India | - 4 " |
| China | - 6 " |
| Japan | - 3 " |
| Philippines | - 1 " |
| | <u>3 1/2 months</u> |

Total: The Near and Far East inclusive of travel 1 year

Europe:

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| British Isles | - 8 weeks |
| Germany | - 4 " |
| France | - 3 " |
| Sweden | - 4 " |
| Finland | - 1 " |
| Succession states | - 16 " |
| | <u>10 1/4 months</u> |

Total: Europe inclusive of travel 1 year

Total time required for all areas included 2 years

b. Personnel: 1 man for 2 years

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| c. <u>Budget:</u> Director @ \$10,000 per year | \$20,000 |
| Secretary @ \$2,000 | 4,000 |
| Conferences | 20,000 |
| Contingency | 2,000 |
| Travel @ \$10,000 per year | 20,000 |
| | 4,000 |
| | <u>\$56,000</u> |

4. A sociology study of the factors in their historical setting contributing to the present situation regarding religious liberty. This will be done by intensive field studies in Poland and two states in the U.S.A.. There will also be library studies of two European countries: (1) a highly centralized nationalistic country and (2) a country with an established church.

a. Personnel: An especially trained social investigator for Poland.

A social investigator for the U.S.A.

b. Budget: Poland including all expenses \$20,000 + 2500

United States 17,000

Honoraria for two library studies @ \$1500 each 3,000

Contingency 2,000

\$42,000 + 2500

IX. PERSONNEL REQUIRED AND PERSONS SUITABLE FOR CHIEF POSITIONS:

A. Personnel:

1. A director who will be responsible for the entire study.
2. A church historian conversant with Roman Catholic history.
3. Experts in various countries to be secured for special piecemeal work.

(see VIII.B.2. and 4.)

4. Sociologist with special qualifications to study Poland.
5. Sociologist to make study of U.S.A.
6. Bibliographer who has had experience in handling church records as well as in historical material.
7. Cataloguer.
8. Secretary to travel with Director.
9. Stenographer in New York office.

B. Persons suitable for chief positions:

1. Director: Prof. Francis B. Sayre of Harvard

2. Church historian:

3. Experts in various countries:

4. Sociologist with special qualifications to study Poland:

5. Sociologist to make study of U.S.A.:

6. Bibliographer:

X. TIME REQUIRED:

A. The study will require ^{3 1/4} two years work of the director with shorter time for other staff members. This includes two years for the major studies with ^{six} four months preparation and ^{nine} eight months for write-up.

B. There is urgency to begin this study as soon as possible.

IX. ESTIMATED COST:

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Study 1. (See section VII B) | \$ 1,250 |
| Study 2. | 15,000 |
| Study 3. | 56,000 |
| Study 4. | 42,000 + 2,500 |
| Services of director for fifteen months over and above the two years as indicated in Study 3. | 12,500 |
| Secretary to the direction for additional fifteen months | 2,500 |
| Books and documents | 2,000 |
| Conferences in U.S.A. | 3,000 |
| Conferences in England | 5,000 |
| Office rent for 3 1/4 years | 4,000 |
| Equipment | 1,000 |
| Office supplies | 1,500 |
| Publications | <u>9,050</u> |
| Total | \$153,800 |

This will be covered entirely by the grant.

2,500
156,300

XII. BODIES OR GROUPS WHO WILL COOPERATE:

- A. This project will have the full cooperation of the International Missionary Council, ^{and} their constituent bodies (see Appendix IV).
- B. Officers of the major mission boards of North America have signified their willingness to cooperate. (see statements attached in Appendix V.)
- C. Groups in various mission fields have expressed their need of such a study (see Appendix VI).

XIII. NATURE OF PUBLICATION AND SIZE OF EDITION PROBABLY REQUIRED:

A. Nature of publications.

- 1. Annotated bibliography. This will make available in permanent form the ^{of} references/~~most~~ value for a general study of the question of religious liberty. It would be designed as a guide to the student of the question. It will contain about 200 title entries and be about 50 pages in length.
- 2. A classified volume of information secured through the study VIII.B.2 and 3 in regard to the present situation in various parts of the world. This would be arranged by countries and condensed into brief factual statements. It will be in form similar to the Statesman's Year Book and will constitute an easily available reference book of about 500 pages in length.
- 3. Major Report of the Project. This will contain in detail all of the material gathered in VIII.B.2 and 3. Edited by the director together with his own report, observations and recommendations. This will probably be a two volume report, each volume 500-600 pages in length.
- 4. Sociological studies. Each of these studies will have special value and will therefore be published separately. They will be in the form of case studies and will carry whatever charts, statistics, graphs, etc., as may be needed. It is estimated that they will ~~xxx~~ run in length somewhat as follows:

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|--------|
| a. Study of Poland | 150 | pages |
| b. Study of U.S.A. | 150 | " |
| c. Study of two European countries | 100 | " each |

B. Budget:

1. Annotated Bibliography

| | | |
|--|------------|--------|
| Edition of 1000 copies | \$300 | |
| Cost of additional work in compiling and editing the bibliography | <u>500</u> | \$ 800 |

2. A Classified volume of data

| | | |
|------------------------|--|-------|
| Edition of 1000 copies | | 1,750 |
|------------------------|--|-------|

3. Major Report of the Project

| | | |
|------------------------|--|-------|
| Edition of 1000 copies | | 4,000 |
|------------------------|--|-------|

4. Sociological Studies

Edition of 1000 of each of the following:

| | | |
|--------------------|--|-----|
| a. Study of Poland | | 750 |
|--------------------|--|-----|

| | | |
|--------------------|--|-----|
| b. Study of U.S.A. | | 750 |
|--------------------|--|-----|

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|--------------|
| c. Studies of two European countries | | <u>1,000</u> |
|--------------------------------------|--|--------------|

| | | |
|-------|--|---------|
| Total | | \$9,050 |
|-------|--|---------|

XIV. REASONS WHY THE INSTITUTE IS PARTICULARLY ADAPTED TO UNDERTAKE THE WORK:

- A. A study of this nature does not fall within the direct field of interest of any of the religious organizations and yet is fundamental to all of their work. In this period when religious organizations are finding such difficulty to finance their own current expenses they are not in a position to undertake such a project. This study which a large group of religious bodies recognize as fundamental to their progress will not be undertaken unless by an independent organization like the Institute.
- B. The project has never been given the thorough scientific investigation which is called for in this study and it is felt that the Institute is peculiarly equipped both in staff and in accumulation of experience to handle a project whose size and scope would make it possible for any single religious organization to handle.
- C. In asking the Institute to undertake this study it is hoped that the results ~~will more readily commend themselves to other than Protestant Christian forces.~~

This project will include a ^{an} world-wide investigation of existing systems of law and ^{belief and practice} history bringing into its range the major areas of conflict today. It will deal with such questions as (1) what does the ^{time} world concept of religious liberty ^{as} and a fundamental and universal principle involve, (2) what are its relations to legislation, education, industry and employment, social customs and ^{usage} practice, and (3) ~~how can it be~~ nationally and internationally recognized and guaranteed.

to what extent and in what way it has been

V. OBJECTIVE: This project has as its objective the formulation of fundamental and universal concepts of religious liberty, which ^{are} ~~appear to be~~ ^{assailed} threatened today by secularism, militant atheism, religious intolerance, ~~and~~ extreme nationalism, and fear of foreign cultural invasion; and a study of their progressive realization ^{of these concepts} in law and practice.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

What is "religious liberty" and wherein and how far are we justified in claiming it as a natural human right which it is wrong for any person, agency or government to abridge or deny?

Well, first of all, private intellectual opinion ought to be and of necessity is free. No one has a right to dictate or impose opinions and no one has the power to do so. Happily what goes on inside a man's mind is secure. No external influence or authority can penetrate that citadel and bind our freedom to think as we think we ought to think. This is clear.

In the second place, everyone ought to be allowed, as a fundamental right, to express his opinions and to persuade others to share them, under two conditions. First he must use purely intellectual and moral suasion. He must not use coercion of any sort, physical, social or moral. And secondly there are limits which the social or political organization to which he belongs has a right to set. A society built on monogamy, for example, has a right to forbid the propaganda of polygamy, and the claim that certain opinions are religious and that to ^{india} their practice or their translation into action, since these opinions are religious, is to abridge religious liberty cannot be sustained as an unconditional principle. The thugs of India practiced murder as a religious rite, but they were rightly hanged as murderers. Where then is the limit/upon such curtailment of the free expression of religious opinion in practice and propaganda? It is to be found in the appraisal and judgment of religion. It is conceivable that in a society built on polygamy as a religious principle, the propaganda of a religion requiring monogamy might be banned as irreligious and unlawful. The conclusion is that only those religions will be allowed liberty of expression and extension in any land whose principles do not conflict with what that land regards as necessary. This may, certainly at times mean/the abridgment of the liberty of religion and it will be a wrongful...

abridgment in the view of those who regard the oppressing religion as inferior or false. What is the remedy? There are various remedies. The main one is the conversion of the mind of the oppressing agency, which is rendered all the more difficult by the denial of the right to seek aggressively to effect this conversion.

It is in the matter of restraining religious expression in the interest of the civil authority declares to be moral and social order that the door is opened of abridgment of religious liberty, and yet the right and duty to almost any degree of authority is declared to be clear. This was the declaration of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations at its Twenty-third Session in June 1933:

"It (the Permanent Mandates Commission) did not consider, however, that it should abstain from announcing the criterion which it would adopt, should necessity arise, in judging the legitimate character of any regulations which might, even indirectly, affect freedom of conscience. The Commission therefore drew attention to the fact that the mandate makes the free exercise of religion subject to the condition that it should not be prejudicial to public order, and that, in this connection, the mandate gives to the Mandatory the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order. The maintenance of order is the first duty of the Governor, and order is a necessary condition for the full development of all freedom, not excepting freedom of religion.

"Any regulations, therefore, arising out of the necessity for the maintenance of order will, if such order be genuinely endangered, be free from criticism, even should such regulations have the effect of restricting, in some measure, the free exercise of religion. On the other hand, any regulations on this subject which were to go beyond what is required for the maintenance of order, any measure of a vexatious nature or such as

might have the effect of restricting the activities of the missions of any particular religious denomination, would be contrary to the terms of the mandate."

How clear this would be if only the authority in question were always representative of a high and true view and were always sincere and just, which it is not.

The third issue relates to the right of worship. Here again no one can interfere with inward worship in spirit and in truth. But the problem arises at once in the case of private and public social worship. Certain limitations are obvious. The worshipers in an old Moslem mosque in an Indian city justly objected to the loud hymns of a new Christian Church next door during the hour of Moslem prayer. Many inter-communal clashes have occurred in India between Moslems and Hindus over religious processions and observances. But the right of religious liberty certainly includes the right of orderly worship provided it does not interfere with the equal right of others and provided, again, it does not infringe ethical or social ideas held by the authoritative political or social organization to be ^{inviolable.} / If these ideas are wrong they ought to be changed by suasion which, as already pointed out, is made the more difficult by the very supposition of the case.

A new set of issues arises, in the fourth place, with regard to property, taxation, education and marriage, and especially with regard to rights of foreigners and natives. The principle of religious liberty, as such, cannot be divided. In so far as it is the universal human right that we contend it is, it belongs to all men as men and the absolutely unique Treaty of 1895 between the United States and Siam is notable for recognizing this complete mutuality and reciprocity of religious liberty between these two countries. But the conception cannot be stretched to cover identical rights of property, taxation, education and marriage/^{as} between citizens and foreigners.

It ought, however, to cover such full ^{equality} identity and ~~equality~~ between religions, except as modified by a just application of true nationalism.

The special problem of missionary freedom and toleration of Christianity in China after the Treaties of 1858 is negligible here. That whole situation was exceptional and temporary. It was an exceedingly interesting episode and of late it has been viewed in a very one-sided and inaccurate way. It ought to have a free and impartial treatment.

In this present brief study it must suffice to say that the principle of religious liberty simply requires that there should be no discrimination against either citizen or foreigner in the matter of property, taxation, ^{on} education on religious grounds. As to marriage the state has a right to make its own laws as it does in the United States, and the Church should be free to supplement but not to violate these as it pleases. The state may require civil marriage and may allow divorce, but the Church in the case of its own members may require ~~if it will~~ religious marriage also and forbid divorce.

It is a vital problem in every country as to whether the state has a right to determine the education of all children, or whether parents and churches have a right to conduct private education. Thus far, with some limitations, almost all Asiatic countries, like the United States and Great Britain, recognise this parental and religious right. It does not follow, however, necessarily that foreign religious bodies could claim that the principle of religious liberty is abridged by the prohibition of foreign schools, so long as nationals are allowed to exercise the right of private secular and religious education. ^{plausible} A/ argument might even be made further for the view that the state has a right to control and direct the secular education of children, provided this education is genuinely neutral religiously, and provided parents and churches are really free to supplement it with the desired religious education.

Difficult problems in regard to religious liberty arise in the field where

religion is related to social customs and ideals like marriage relationships, as has been seen, and to political policies, as for example, war and armaments. The Japanese Christians have been face to face with this problem in the matter of the relation of their country to China. And/also when religion and race are identified or confused. In every land today the internationalism of Christianity collides with false or imperfect conceptions of nationalism and the latter constantly assert themselves in ways that collide with the Christian consciousness of duty. In the United States ~~the~~ the Churches are opposed to increase in armaments and to all war agitation. Their right to argue their case is not denied but they are under constant abuse and misrepresentation, and it seems likely that in the event of another war they would feel it their duty to take courses of action which might bring them under political punishment. This is just what is happening today in Germany.

Christianity has duties to discharge which it may be difficult to discharge under present conditions. There may be places in the world where Christianity should go and things which Christianity should do which are now forbidden. It does not always follow that every right should be claimed and exercised, but it is clear to the Christian conscience that every duty should be done whether the right to do it is conceded or denied. And today and in the future, as in the past, the bounds of religious liberty are to be widened by pushing against them and paying the penalty for our hardihood. Martyrdom is not common in our world though with the memory of the World War still vivid and dark, no one can say that lives are too precious to be spared for what can get itself accepted as a Cause, and it may well be that by some such sacrifice the bounds of freedom are ^{now} to be wider set. Byron's turgid lines are not likely to be less true than they have always been:

"They never fail who die in a great cause
The block may soak their gore,
Their limbs may sodden in the sun,
Their heads be strung to city gates and castle walls,
But still their spirit walks abroad → Though years elapse and others
They but augment the great and sweeping thoughts share as dark a doom,
That overspread all others
And conduct the world at last to freedom.

DEC 5 1930

Friday Evening, December 5 and Saturday, December 6, 1930

Chairman: Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain

The first meeting of this group was called together by Dr. A. L. Warnshuis, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, in May 1930 with the purpose of enlisting the aid of this informal group in a thorough-going study of the subject of religious liberty. In Dr. Warnshuis' absence, the committee appointed by the group in May have called this meeting for further discussion of the issues involved in the maintenance of religious liberty.

The meeting will open with dinner at 6:30 p.m., Friday December 5 at the Y. W. C. A., 600 Lexington Avenue. The meeting will be called to order at 8:30 p.m. The meeting on Saturday will be held in the conference room at 419 Fourth Avenue. The hours of the meeting on Saturday will be determined by the group Friday evening. It is expected that meetings will be held both Saturday forenoon and afternoon.

AGENDA

A. Opening Statement Concerning the Purpose of this Meeting
Professor Chamberlain

B. Why Are Certain Governments Today Restricting Religious Liberty?
Dr. Goodsell

Discussion

C. What Rights and Privileges, in the Application of the Principles of Religious Liberty, Must the Churches and Missions Be Assured in order to Carry on Their Work?

Mr. Lobenstine

D. The Relation of Property Rights to the Question of Religious Liberty.
Dr. Huntington

Discussion

E. How Should Further Study of this Subject Be Continued?

Esther Strong

R. E. INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

Composed of the following Organizations

NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL OF AUSTRALIA
SOCIÉTÉ BELGE DE MISSIONS PROTÉSTANTES AU CONGO
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF CHINA
CONSEIL PROTESTANT DU CONGO
DANSK MISSIONSRAAD
DEUTSCHER EVANGELISCHER MISSIONSBUND
SOCIÉTÉ DES MISSIONS ÉVANGÉLIQUES DE PARIS
CONFÉRENCE OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF INDIA, BURMA, AND
CEYLON
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF JAPAN
KOREAN NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
COMMITTEE ON COÖPERATION IN LATIN AMERICA
NEAR EAST CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
NEDERLANDSCHE ZENDINGRAAD
NETHERLANDS INDIA
NATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL OF NEW ZEALAND
NORSK MISSIONSRAAD

FOREIGN MISSIONS CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA
(UNITED STATES AND CANADA)
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF THE PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF SIAM
MISSIONARY SOCIETIES OF SOUTH AFRICA
SUOMEN LÄHETYSNEUVOSTO
SVENSKA MISSIONSRADET
ASSOCIATION OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN SWITZER-
LAND

Chairman: JOHN R. MOTT, 230 Park Avenue, New York City
Secretaries: J. H. OLDHAM; WILLIAM PATON, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W. 1
A. L. WARNSHUIS, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City
Assistant Secretaries: Miss B. D. GIBSON, Miss ESTHER STRONG

CABLEGRAMS: INTMISSION, NEW YORK
MISSIONS CODE
TELEPHONE: CALEDONIA 5-1271

All
419 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

April 8, 1932

Dr. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

My dear Dr. Speer:

After some discussion, we have finally decided to have our
small group meeting on religious liberty at 4 o'clock on
Tuesday, April 19, at this office.

*com. on cooperation in Near East
meeting same hour.*

This will be a very small meeting and we are counting on
your presence.

I enclose some papers which Dr. Watson said we might share
with you.

Sincerely yours

Esther Strong

ES:C
encs.

C O P Y

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY AT CAIRO

Office of the Dean

113 Sharia Kasr El-Aini
Cairo, Egypt

February 23, 1932

Dr. Charles R. Watson & Mr. Lum
1000 Land Title Building
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Watson and Lum,

I am sending you some more material bearing on the situation here. Last Friday afternoon we had a meeting of the committee on Governments and Missions in the light of information that a question had been raised in the Parliament last Tuesday evening which the Prime Minister was to answer next Tuesday evening and discussion of the problem would occur then. The question presented by eleven members pertains to the action of missionaries and missions in Egypt so as to discover what was being done by these various "Mubashereen" and what the Government was doing and proposed to do in the light of it.

The meeting of the Committee was largely in terms of a study of a memorandum which I myself had prepared some days before, not for publication but as a basis for presenting in any way that might be possible some indication of what these missions were doing. I enclose a copy of it. It has had no official recognition whatever as I have asked for none and there was no occasion for it to be published. It has been the basis of a good long talk in detail with Sheikh Aly Abdel Razeq, with Khaled Bey Hassanein and with Maitre Lutfy Goma, the lawyer, the latter too right here in my office. We went over it word by word and there was no disagreement whatever with the content of it on the part of these three men since they understood it was my own personal understanding of what these missions did and what they did not do.

The Committee boiled its thinking down to the very minimum and then we turned it into Arabic since Sidky Pasha had appointed a meeting for Saturday at 10:30, and we felt that we should have something to lay in his hands in all probability. We held back the positive paragraph on a separate sheet and did not produce it until we had thoroughly gone into the negative side under the four or five heads and then he had asked for something on the positive side.

I think the memo we are sending you covers that interview which took over an hour, with the Director of the Public Security Department present from the beginning to the end.

This evening will be the discussion in Parliament and it may be reduced to the very minimum by the reply which the Prime Minister will make; and I rather think it will be. The Azhar group have entirely refrained from discussing this whole question during the past month apparently following the direction of the Sheikh el Azhar, as you see it in his manifesto, which in turn certainly must reflect the wishes of the King and the Government.

I have had three or four other extremely interesting discussions with Moslem gentlemen here at the office on this question and while at first they have all advocated out going into print to disavow much of what has been said, they have been quite satisfied when I explained that we were certainly not going to do that because of the garbling and misrepresentation which would follow. One of these men has been Sheikh Tantawi Gohary, one of the leading scholars of the whole Azhar community and was here at the office yesterday.

We will keep you informed from day to day.

R.S. McClenahan

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes of the Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council on "Missions & Government" held at the American University, Cairo, on Friday, 19th February, 1932, at 3 p.m.

PRESENT:- Dr. R. S. McClenahan (in the Chair), Miss Padwick, Dr. C. C. Adams, the Rev. J. W. Acheson, Dr. Quay and the Secretary, Mr. S. A. Morrison.

In accordance with the suggestion 10 on page 2 of the Minutes of 7/12/31, the Secretary had prepared a draft statement to be sent to the Synod of the Nile of the Egyptian Evangelical Church and to the Council of the Egyptian Anglican Church, for discussion and approval. Various emendations were proposed and finally it was agreed to send the statement of which a copy is attached to these Minutes.

It was suggested that if the members of the Synod of the Nile desired further information regarding the activities of our Committee this should be given by the representatives of the American Mission on our Committee, preferably to a select sub-committee specially appointed by the Synod for the purpose.

The Secretary then explained that as a result of conversations with Judge Booth and Mr. Keown-Boyd, Dr. McClenahan and he had asked for an interview with the Egyptian Prime Minister, H. E. Ismail Sidky Pasha, with a view to making clear to him that the missionary societies in Egypt were neither guilty of, nor approved of, the methods of procedure with which they were charged in the Arabic press. This interview was to take place at 10:30 the next morning.

After lengthy discussion, the Committee agreed on a statement, of which a copy is attached hereto.

The meeting was closed with prayer.

S. A. Morrison, Secretary

To the Secretary,
The Egypt Inter-Mission Council.

At its session held on _____ the Synod of the Nile of the Egyptian Evangelical Church passed the following resolution;

THAT whereas the articles of the Constitution make definite and absolute promise of religious liberty

AND whereas adequate provision is not made in the legal system for the execution of the afore-mentioned articles, nor can appeal be made from the legal system to the Constitution

AND whereas the application of the existing law contravenes some of the articles, notably in regard to the personal status of converts to Christianity, especially in reference to such matters as their registration, their right of inheritance and the position of women converts

AND whereas the need is felt for adequate safeguards for the right of peaceful assembly, the right of free enquiry and choice of religion, and for Christian instruction of Christian children in the Government Compulsory Schools,

WE, the members of the aforesaid Synod of the Nile of the Egyptian Evangelical Church now in session,

DO HEREBY DECLARE that we heartily support the endeavours of your Committee on "Missions and Government" on behalf of religious liberty in this land.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Resume of an Interview between Dr. R. S. McClenahan and Mr. S. A. Morrison (Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Sub-Committee of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council on "Missions and Government"), and H. E. Ismail Sidky Pasha, Prime Minister of the Egyptian Government, on Saturday, 20th February, 1932. Also present Kamil Bey, head of the Security Department of the Ministry of the Interior, and (for part of the time) Tawfiq Pasha Doss. The interview lasted slightly more than an hour.

A statement (as per sheet attached) was presented to H. E.

Dr. McClenahan explained that the Inter-Mission Council represents almost all the Protestant missionary societies, British and American, at work in Egypt. This statement expresses the conviction of all these bodies, though there may be a few individuals within these bodies, and some outside them, who might not agree with all of it.

The purpose of the statement was to show that the accusations brought by the Arabic newspapers against missionary work were without foundation. "The Jihad" of February 20th asked for a denial of these charges from missionary leaders and this statement contained that denial. In reply to an observation that this newspaper campaign was being conducted by men who did not believe in it themselves, H.E. maintained that the feeling which had been stirred up represented the genuine conviction of the Moslem population of Egypt. Egypt by its constitution was essentially a Moslem country; in it was situated El Azhar, the leading Moslem University; and Egypt for many centuries had played a prominent part in the world of Islam. For these reasons H.E. maintained that while evangelistic work might be in place in primitive countries like Tanganyika, it was not suitable in a Moslem country like Egypt, especially as Egypt is firmly attached to a religion of its own, and is civilised.

H.E. made detailed enquiries regarding religious teaching in mission schools. It was explained that this comprised the study of the Bible and prayer, which meant worship, intercession, thanksgiving and confession. Any questions which were set on religious knowledge were based on the passages read in class, and were not designed to commit the pupil to any statement of belief. Moslem parents were acquainted with our school syllabuses, and were at liberty to send their children to us or not, as they might choose. H.E. maintained that in their desire to have their children educated parents were almost compelled to send their children to mission schools: they sent them to us for education and character-training and we used the opportunity to evangelise them.

H.E. observed that there were two different conceptions of freedom of conscience. The first implied the right to attack another's religion. This he maintained was unjustifiable, and we agreed. The other was the right of each man to have his own religion and to worship in his own way. This he felt, was the true conception of religious liberty. We submitted that religious liberty also included the right of the individual to confess his religion; the right to explain it to any who make enquiry concerning it, and the right also of the adult to change his religion. H.E. maintained that the only people who professed to have changed their faith came of the lowest classes, and did so for ulterior motives. This statement we could not accept. We pointed out that nothing less than a moral and spiritual experience satisfied us: purely nominal change of religion was as objectionable to us as to him. He also declared that while he welcomed our schools and other philanthropic institutions, he objected to their ultimate purpose, which was to change the religious convictions of those who attended them. He as Prime Minister of a Moslem country, could not stand up in the Council of Deputies and state that he approved of full freedom for missionary societies to carry on their work whose objective was to change the religious convictions of the Moslem population. He was opposed to preaching places which, by invitation or public notice, aimed at attracting Moslems inside so that their convictions might be changed. He made particular enquiry as to the methods by which

Moslems were induced to attend these places. We maintained that every adult had the right to choose his own religion and to enquire of us about our faith and religious experience.

When we referred to the liberty allowed to Moslems to carry on evangelistic work in Christian countries, H.E. declared that the situation in Egypt was quite different. Islam was the "established" religion of this country in a different sense from that in which Christianity is the "established" religion of England. He fully endorsed the right of teaching and training Christians in Churches and Schools, but not the right of having an "organization" for preaching Christianity to Moslems.

H.E. asked if he might make use of our statement, and we consented. He wished to be able to say that the missionary leaders were willing to be reasonable. In view of the sensitiveness of public feeling H.E. urged extreme caution until this storm has blown over, and declared his readiness to discuss the situation again when everything has quietened down. We promised to do our utmost to avoid anything which would rouse Moslem feeling at the present time.

S. A. MORRISON
20/2/32

STATEMENT SUBMITTED TO H.E. THE PRIME MINISTER OF EGYPT ON 20th FEBRUARY 1932.

On behalf of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council, whose constituency includes almost all the Protestant missionary societies in Egypt, we beg to submit to Your Excellency the following Statement:-

1. THAT we are firmly convinced that no member of our organization has been guilty of forcible conversion, abduction, involuntary detention of minors or adults, bribery, the use of drugs or hypnotism, corruption of mind or body, or any kind of fraud, and that any accusation of such action is entirely without foundation, and that we are entirely opposed to any such methods.
 2. THAT we disapprove of any abusive attack on the religion or religious book of any one.
 3. THAT we disapprove of any pressure being brought to bear upon minors to make them change their religion, but that we believe in the absolute right of each mature individual to enquire about and choose the way of life that seems to him best.
 4. THAT our evangelistic activities have no political connections and no political objectives.
 5. THAT our endeavor is to present by word and deed the way of life which Christ taught us and to develop character in the light of His teachings and to promote the search for Truth through Science, Literature, and History, and we believe that this can only be accomplished by unrestricted enquiry, a variety of viewpoint, and free contact with currents of thought in other lands.
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The Turkist paper "Halkiyet" of March 1, 1935 contained the following paragraphs from a lecture at Istanbul University by Mahmud Esad who was Minister of Justice at the time of the promulgation of the new Civil Code in Turkey:

"Ladies and Gentlemen: The adult ought to have been free in his choice, and so he became. Freedom of conscience stands at the top of modern principles. In our constitution conscience is free. So it is also in the constitution of other nations. Contemporary nations accept freedom of conscience as fundamental. Ataturk has pointed this out in our constitution. He could not have acted otherwise. After having pronounced the principles, to act contrary to them would have been insincerity. Conscience cannot be dominated, could not be dominated; neither shall it ever be.... Only one thing can control conscience: love, and faith. When those do not exist, neither laws, nor the canons of tyrants are of any avail. All citadels may be conquered by force. Only one citadel it is impossible to conquer by physical means. That is, conscience.

"When Christianity arose, Rome found itself endangered. The Roman Empire tried every means to crush Christianity. It used every cruelty. In the end, it stopped before the conscience of people. Nero put Rome on fire, to threaten the Christians. He enjoyed his feasts while he had the Christians burned. What of it? One day Nero himself died. He was defeated. They threw the first Christians to the lions. The Jewish priests put their leader on the cross. What of it? While being nailed to the cross, he cried at the priests: 'I do not change my opinion!' One day the tyrants surrendered. The same thing is true in the history of Islam also.

"The adult is now free to choose his religion...The conception of a secular state is not foreign to the Turkish national history. The road we are following is not foreign to and incompatible with our national history. At the same time, it is the road followed by modern civilization."

Excerpts of article from Greek paper "Proia", Athens, Nov. 1934. Report of speech of the Minister of Interior of Turkey, Shukri Kayis, explaining the reasons in Parliament for the law abolishing the use of the priestly garb in public, for all religious communities. The minister stated:

"One of the fundamental principles of our great political revolution is its secularism. By secularism we mean the abolishing of all religious influence in the affairs of State, and Nation. We have already passed several significant laws along this line since the Republic was founded. The abolishing of the Caliphate, the unification of the Courts, the abolishing of the SHARIA (Canon) law, the unification of education, (no longer allowing religious schools), the abolishing of madresses and monastic orders, the civil code, and many others, are some of the measures which have been taken in order to apply our secular principles.

"Facts however teach us that in order to establish our Revolution (reformation) forever, it will be necessary for us to pass several other laws of like nature. Hence, carrying out your high desire we bring before you today another such law. The reason for the passing of this measure is a necessity laid upon by our Reformation. It is a question of Public Order closely bound up with the future of the Turkish Republic, even of the Turkish Nation.

"Considering this necessity, the secular state cannot interest itself with the canons of one or another religion. The reasons which have impelled this legislation are reasons material and real, imposed by the supreme interests of the State. Our government, secular to the extreme, has never undertaken to discriminate between the presentation of one religion from another. This is a principle of our constantly progressing and living revolution. In case our movement should stop or turn back, it would be easy to understand what might be the consequences to our nation."

"After this speech, the law was passed. It is as follows:

"It is forbidden to clergymen of any religion or dogma, to wear the priestly robe outside of houses of worship even at the time of their religious rites. The government can give temporary permission to one cleric of each religion and faith to wear the priestly robe outside of houses of worship. This permission can be renewed for the same priest, or can be given to another priest.

"It is forbidden in Turkey for foreigners and Turks to wear uniforms or insignia of foreign political, military, and 'boy scout' organizations."

"Subsequent articles do not affect religious organizations."

From the Turkish paper "Millet", Feb. 18, 1935, article "Our Greatest Need" by Agha Ogulu, in which the writer said:

"In spite of our scientists and thinkers, poets and writers, we have no one that could start a science, or a literary school, or a 'doctrine,' while Japan and the Balkan lands, which started later than we, are far ahead of us in these things. What is the reason for our inability? Another produced the answer to this query and said. It is the egoism that we have inherited from our fathers. We would like things to happen, but not at a cost to our comfort and rest. This attitude of egoism was implanted in our fathers thru the religious and state tyranny under which they lived for centuries.

"Though it is true that we did away with these institutions, we did not clean our own selves. We need a thorough spiritual revolution, a revolution that will upset the foundations of our selves and make us purified and new beings. The basis of this revolution is a denial of the world, rejection of its goods, and a spirit of altruism, that is, to love others, and be ready to sacrifice for others. As soon as our intellectual group develops this mentality, it will bring about what we covet in other nations.

"To be creative, the writer must pursue both a literary taste and a high cultural ideal. Let us pray that some such writers may rise among us, too, to open the way for an era of moral purification."